1103.a.3.

AN ANSWER

TO

Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE's

PAMPHLET,

UPON THE EXPORTATION OF

WOOL.

By NATHANIEL FORSTER, D. D.

Rector of ALL-SAINTS, COLCHESTER,

And Chaplain to the Counteſs Dowager of

NORTHINGTON.

A ſimple ſcene! yet *hence* BRITANNIA ſees
Her ſolid grandeur riſe. *Hence* ſhe commands
Th' exalted ſtores of every brighter clime.——
——*Hence*, fervent all, with culture, toil, and arts,
Wide glows her land. Her dreadful thunder *hence*
Rides o'er the waves ſublime.——

THOMSON.

COLCHESTER:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY W. KEYMER.

Sold alſo by G. ROBINSON, Paternoſter-Row; and
J, ROBSON, New Bond Street, London;

MDCCLXXXII.

[PRICE ONE SHILLING.]

W. Musgrave.

ERRATA.

Page 13, Line 2, from the bottom, after hands, insert, *of.*
Page 15, Line 6, for Manufacturers, read, *Manufactures.*
Page 25, Line 16, for pro-proportion, read, *proportion.*

BRITISH MUSEUM

AN ANSWER, &c.

IN the following anſwer to Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE, I ſhall adopt the method obſerved in his pamphlet.

I. I ſhall lay down a few general principles, which appear to me to be inconteſtible, and alſo to apply, in every point, to the preſent queſtion.

II. I ſhall offer ſome reaſons, *againſt* the allowance of the exportation of wool, in any circumſtances, and with whatever qualifications,

III. I ſhall conſider the force of Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE's reaſons, in *favor* of this meaſure. Which reaſons will come, of courſe, in the form of objections, to my arguments *againſt* it.

Although general principles are of the greateſt uſe, in the diſcuſſion of political queſtions,

it being impoſſible, either to think clearly, or to reaſon juſtly, without them, yet is the utmoſt caution neceſſary, in their application to particular caſes. As they ariſe out of a great number of individual facts, and are founded upon ſome ſpecial circumſtance, in which they all agree, it requires the moſt diſcerning and ſteady eye, to diſtinguiſh this common circumſtance, and to extract it, according to Mr. HUME's expreſſion, pure and unmixed, from the other ſuperfluous circumſtances. For it often happens, that propoſitions, however juſt and inconteſtible, in a general and abſtracted view, are found, upon cloſer examination, and in particular and new applications, to claſh with other principles, equally juſt and general. Concluſions the moſt fallacious, in reaſoning, and errors the moſt dangerous, in practice, muſt be the neceſſary conſequence.

The following general propoſitions, it is hoped, will not be found chargeable with this defect.

GENERAL PROPOSITIONS.

I. The proſperity of the *landed* intereſt, in any country, depends chiefly, if not ſolely, upon

on the proſperity of the *manufacturing* intereſt. Or in other words, The landed intereſt cannot flouriſh, where manufactures are in a ſtate of depreſſion and decay. Without a ſufficient conſumption, neither the produce of lands, nor, conſequently, the lands themſelves, can acquire their full value. This conſumption cannot poſſibly be obtained, without the employment of hands, in other ſorts of labour, than that of agriculture; that is, in the various branches of manufacture, and their dependencies.

II. Thoſe manufactures are of the greateſt advantage to the landed intereſt, which occaſion the largeſt conſumption of the produce of lands: thoſe, conſequently, which employ the greateſt quantity of labour. To give all poſſible encouragement therefore to manufactures, which come within this deſcription, will be the trueſt policy. To adopt any meaſures, that tend to obſtruct or depreſs them, will be the higheſt degree of political folly.

II. To ſecure an ample ſupply of the raw materials, which form the baſis of ſuch manufactures, will be amongſt the firſt objects of public atten-

tion: to ſecure the ſupply of them, at ſuch a price, as will enable the manufacturer to carry his exertions, in making them up, to the greateſt poſſible extent.

IV. It will moreover be the policy of every manufacturing country, and more particularly of the owners of land in ſuch country, to ſecure the moſt extenſive market for its manufactured goods: to ſecure a foreign, as well as a home, demand for ſuch goods.

V. By the ſame principles of policy, ſuch manufacturing country will endeavour, as much as poſſible, to prevent all foreign nations, from rivalling its manufactures in the market: while, on the contrary, to ſupply foreign manufacturers with the means of ſuch competition, would be a meaſure of the moſt pernicious tendency.

VI. Should any particular country, from circumſtances of ſoil, climate, ſituation, &c. be in poſſeſſion of the raw materials of any valuable manufacture, it will be the policy of ſuch country, to preſerve, as much as poſſible, ſuch raw materials, for its own uſe. And ſhould it happen,

happen, that foreigners cannot carry on a rival manufacture, except by a ſupply of ſuch materials from thence, it will, upon the ſame principles of policy, uſe every endeavour, to cut them off from ſuch ſupply.

VII. Should foreign countries be poſſeſſed of other ſuperior advantages for the carrying on of ſuch manufactures, and want only a ſupply of the raw materials, to give theſe advantages their full effect, it will be an act of political inſanity, to afford them ſuch ſupply.

VIII. Neither the ſmall return, from the export of ſuch unwrought material, nor the ſmall addition of revenue, from a duty, upon ſuch export, can poſſibly counterbalance the loſs of the manufacture itſelf; nor be made, in any degree to compenſate the many miſchiefs, which muſt ariſe, as well to the landed, as to the commercial, intereſt, from ſuch loſs.

Upon the ground of theſe general propoſitions, I wiſh to offer the following reaſons, why the exportation of wool ſhould not be allowed at any price, and under whatever limitations.

But

But I would firſt obſerve very briefly, becauſe the fact is abundantly known, that the woollen manufacture, in all its numerous branches, requires and employs a greater quantity of labour, than any other manufacture in this country. The number of hands at work in its ſeveral ſtages, and in all its various dependencies, almoſt mocks calculation. It affords labour, to men and to women, to the young and to the old, to the ſtrong and the weak, the healthy and the infirm, in almoſt all circumſtances, and in all ſeaſons. I would obſerve alſo, that this manufacture, in thoſe branches of it particularly which are for the foreign market, is capable of much improvement; that it has been, of late years, in a very improving ſtate; and, unleſs checked by unnatural obſtructions, may be made to produce ſtill more extenſive advantages to the public.

REASONS againſt allowing the EXPORTATION of WOOL.

Reason I. If Exportation of Wool were allowed, the price would be, at the inſtant, ſo much raiſed, as to be a ſevere check upon the manufacture; upon thoſe branches particularly, which

which ſend their goods to foreign markets. What generally occaſions the low price of any commodity? What is, at this time, the principal cauſe of the low price of our long and coarſer wools? The leſſened demand for them. And whence ariſes this diminution of demand? From the diminiſhed demand for the manufactures, in which they are uſed. The foreign markets for theſe goods, and it is to theſe markets they are chiefly ſent, are reduced to a mere nothing. Spain has ſhewn an inveteracy againſt this country, unknown in any former war*; and refuſes admiſſion to Britiſh manufactures, of every kind, in every ſhape, and through whatever channel. The ports of Holland, which, in our former wars with the houſe of Bourbon, afforded a free paſſage to the German, and almoſt every other market, are now ſhut againſt us. And even where the markets are, in ſome degree, open, the difficulties, the charge, and the hazard, of conveyance, are prodigious, and beyond all paſt example. Our trade, moreover, tho' guarded

* *Odiſſe quos læſeris.* Never was this maxim more fully verified, than in the preſent diſpoſition and conduct of Spain, towards this country.

with an attention, that deſerves every acknowledgement, is neceſſarily expoſed to perpetual interruption and peril, from the numerous privateers and ſhips of war, which are conſtantly iſſuing from the ports of the three great powers, in hoſtile combination againſt us: while even thoſe of America are, every hour, ſeen hovering about our coaſts. Under theſe multiplied difficulties of our trade, it would be a miracle, that our manufactures flouriſhed. It is next to a miracle, that thoſe manufactures, which depend upon foreign conſumption, have, any longer, exiſtence; that the woollen manufactures, of this deſcription, labouring, as they do beyond all others, under theſe difficulties, are not totally extinct. But happily this hour of conſummate wretchedneſs is not yet come. Feeling, as they muſt ſeverely feel, a weight of diſtreſs, hitherto unexperienced, they have not yet totally ſunk under it. Nothing however is wanting, but the blow now threatened, to complete their ruin. A very ſmall advance of the price of the raw material muſt put an immediate and total ſtop to them: while the cauſe of ſuch advance will cut off all hope of their future recovery. Tempted by the preſent low

price

price of wool, and, I may add, the lowered price of labour, the manufacturer goes on to the utmoſt of his ability and credit: in many inſtances, I fear, at the peril of abſolute ruin. He lays up his goods in ſtore for many years: compenſated, as he hopes in ſome meaſure to be, for the loſs of intereſt upon his dead ſtock, for the loſs upon the ſtock itſelf from decay and damage, by the comparatively low expence of raiſing it. The public mean while is infinitely benefited. The wheel and the ſhuttle are not abſolutely at reſt. And numerous families are ſtill enabled to ſupport themſelves, (and, to the credit of the poor be it ſpoken, there are very few, who do not wiſh to ſupport themſelves,) by their induſtry, who muſt otherwiſe fall an immediate burthen upon the public. Upon that part of the public chiefly, which is now moſt loudly called upon, "to lay ſhoulder to ſhoulder"* in ſupport of this meaſure—upon the *landed* intereſt: called upon, therefore, to ſupport a meaſure, which has the cleareſt tendency to its own ruin: which muſt inevitably diſable the farmer,

* Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE's Pamphlet, page 25.

from paying his preſent rents, and, by neceſſary conſequence, ſink the rents themſelves in future. That ſuch will be the immediate effects of an advance upon wool, the certain, and even the *propoſed*, effect, of the exportation of it, there can be no reaſon to doubt. Every ſource of induſtry, from this quarter, will be ſhut up. The manufacture, already in a ſtate of depreſſion and decay, muſt at once ſink and die.

REASON II. The exportation of wool will not only check, for a time, the manufactures, in which it is uſed, but, by enabling foreigners, the French particularly, to rival, and to underſell us, will drive them from us for ever. That the French are deſirous of procuring Britiſh wool, (more ſo when cheap, no doubt, than when dear) is a fact, not to be denied. Of this the Legiſlature have been perfectly ſatisfied, for upwards of a century paſt. Otherwiſe, why ſuch anxious caution, to prevent its exportation? Why ſuch repeated prohibitions, and under the ſevereſt penalties? Were the paſſage to them ever ſo free, the purchaſe muſt be ſtill at their own choice. The bare

prohibition

prohibition therefore of export ſuppoſes, at leaſt, a conviction, on the part of the Legiſlature, of a deſire, a want, of the commodity prohibited, from abroad. The ſmuggler too gives the fulleſt and moſt deciſive teſtimony to this fact, and leaves it beyond a poſſibility of doubt. Sure, and that from the ampleſt experience, of an advantageous and gainful market, he breaks through every bar, deſpiſes every prohibition, and riſques every penalty, in the proſecution of his trade. And indeed Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE himſelf tells us, "that the call from abroad for Britiſh wool has been always as regular and ſteady, as the call for Spaniſh wool is from Spain."* But whence this regular and ſteady call for Britiſh wool from abroad, unleſs it were as neceſſary to foreign manufacture, as the Spaniſh wool is to the finer manufactures of this country†? This

 fact

* Ib. Page 11. It ſhould have been ſaid *from England*, as anſwering to the words in the former clauſe, *from abroad*.

† I have met with many perſons, who wiſh for a prohibition of the importation of Spaniſh wool. I am of a contrary opinion. Import your raw material, whenever, and whence ever, you can. If your own manufactures be thereby improved and extended, (and it will not otherwiſe be imported) the advantages will be of equal

fact would alone be ſufficient for our argument. But we know more. We know, that a mixture of Britiſh wool is eſſentially neceſſary to many branches of the French manufacture, and is of the greateſt ſervice in more. We know too, what is ſtill of greater conſequence, that it is moſt neceſsary, in thoſe manufactures, which make by far the greater part of Britiſh exports. We export, according to my information, a very inconſiderable quantity of fine cloths. In theſe articles France can underſell us. Here they want not our wool. If their own growth be inſufficient, the flocks of Spain are at hand for them. But for our coarſer cloths, for our baize, and our ſtuffs of every kind—for ſome or other of theſe goods—almoſt the whole world is our market. And, as yet, we ſtand unrivalled in this market.

equal extent. The advantages, to the manufacturer — to thoſe employed by him—to the land-owner—and to the people at large.

Upon the ſame principle (tho' many other ſubordinate reaſons might be mentioned) I approve the importation of Iriſh yarn. This yarn, tho' in ſome degree manufactured, may yet be fairly deemed a raw material, in compariſon of the finiſhed goods, which the Engliſh manufacturer is enabled by its aſſiſtance to ſend to market.

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The French have never been able to produce any thing comparable to our Norwich ſtuffs, or our Eſſex baize. Nor will they ever be able to equal us, in the gloſs and beauty, in the firm and even texture, of theſe manufactures, unleſs we are ſo wiſe as to ſupply them with the means. But a very ſmall mixture of the long wools of this country, with thoſe of their own growth, will effectually enable them to do this. It is calculated, that, with one pack of Britiſh wool, they can work up, in ſome branches of their manufacture, three, in others, four, in others, five, packs of their own wool: can work them up into goods of equal quality with thoſe of this country. What then are we doing? We are not only ſupplying our enemies, (our enemies, I mean, in trade) with a raw material, to be worked up by them into a rival manufacture, but we are ſupplying them with a material, which will enable them to work up into ſuch manufacture five times the quantity of that of their own growth. By ſending them one hundred pound's worth of our wool, we enable them to conſume four hundred pound's worth of their own. We employ the hands France, and rob our own hands of employment,

ment, in the ſame proportion. We actually ſend foreign goods to market, to the certain excluſion of our own goods.

The French, moreover, are, in no other reſpect, upon an inferior footing to us; and, in many reſpects, they are in poſſeſſion of ſuperior advantages. Every implement of manufacture they have, at leaſt, upon equal terms. And indeed we are obliged to them, for many ingenious improvements, in the mechanical parts of the woollen manufacture. I ſhall mention two or three very important advantages, of which they are in indiſputable poſſeſſion.

One circumſtance, much in favor of the French manufacture, is the comparatively low price of labour. It is not neceſſary, upon this occaſion, to take up a minute enquiry, into the cauſes of the higher price of labour, in this country. It is ſufficient, that the fact is certain, and is univerſally acknowledged. Neither do I pretend to aſcertain, with preciſion, the difference in this reſpect, between the two countries. The proportion of 3 to 2 will not perhaps exceed the truth. But how prodigious will be the effect of this difference, in the price

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of the manufactured goods? In the Norwich manufactures, the price of the unwrought material amounts to one tenth only, in the Eſſex, to one fifth, of that of the finiſhed goods. All beſides is the price of labour. Now is it poſſible, that theſe manufacturers can even exiſt, much leſs flouriſh, under ſuch prodigious circumſtances of diſadvantage. They muſt droop, they muſt fall. And by their fall, one hundred and fifty thouſand hands (I believe, I ſpeak within compaſs) will be ſet at reſt: will be thrown an immediate burthen upon the public: will continue to be ſo, 'till they either tranſmigrate to other countries, or die, without leaving any ſucceſsors, in their own. The landed intereſt, will then too late, ſee, becauſe they will ſorely feel, their miſtake. Where will be their market for corn, and for every other produce of their lands? Where will be the employment of their plough-men and other labourers, when the cultivation of lands is checked, as it neceſsarily muſt be checked, by the diminiſhed demand for their produce? Where will be the conſumption, neceſſary to throw out that revenue, which has been hitherto the ſole ſupport of our public

funds

funds, and can alone be their future ſupport? But I wiſh not to aggravate, even in imagination, the dark proſpect, which ſo violent an invaſion of one of the moſt fruitful reſources of this country muſt open, too clearly, to every eye.

The vicinity likewiſe of the markets is a circumſtance, highly favourable to the French manufacturer. Germany is the great market for Norwich goods. Spain and Portugal, with their dependencies, for thoſe of Eſſex. How much eaſier the tranſport to theſe countries, from France, than from England. Of America I would wiſh to be ſilent. But ſhould *independent* America find her account, in purchaſing the coarſer woollens of France, in preference to thoſe of this country, what muſt be the fate of the Yorkſhire, and many other manufactures. The conſumption of Britiſh cloth by America has been very great. But every eye muſt ſee, that this door will be totally ſhut againſt us, the moment her new allies become able to underſell us.

It deſerves, laſtly, juſt to be mentioned, that, in Spain particularly, the import duties

are

are conſiderably higher upon Britiſh, than upon French, manufactures. Whether there be the ſame diſadvantage, on our part, in any other European markets, I do not determine.

But, ſays Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE, " To prohibit the exportation of wool, without being certain, that other nations can get it no where elſe, is a very dangerous policy".* We think however, that we are quite ſure of this, with reſpect to the long wools of Lincolnſhire, and perhaps of ſome other counties. But ſuppoſing we did not know this, to a degree of abſolute certainty, yet, unleſs we were quite ſure of the contrary, unleſs we knew, what no man does, or even pretends to, know, that foreign nations can procure a ſufficient ſupply of ſuch wool from their own growth, it would ſurely be a moſt dangerous experiment, to make them an offer of ours. The evil of keeping our wool at home, in whatever circumſtances, can be of no conſideration, in compariſon to that of giving other countries any poſſible chance, of eſtabliſhing their manufactures, upon the ruin of ours.

* Ib. Page 18.

But it is ſaid, "that in Languedoc, are the ſhort wools of the weſt and ſouth coaſts of England, and the long wools of Lincolnſhire, in perfection."* I profeſs not the leaſt judgment in wools. And I ſuſpect too, that the learned Baronet is no great adept in this *ſcience*. From all the information I have been able to procure, I am perſuaded, that the fact is miſtaken, with reſpect to wools of the latter ſort. There are no wools, as far as I can learn, of the Lincolnſhire kind, in France, any more than in Spain. There is no extent of paſture, in either kingdom, ſufficiently rich for the growth of them. In the ſouth of France one ſhould, leaſt of all, expect to find ſuch. Moſt certain however it is, that the paſture, which produces the ſhort wools of the ſouth and weſt of England, cannot be made to produce the long wools of Lincolnſhire. Even exportation of the ſheep would not be found to anſwer this purpoſe, for any length of time. The experiment, I believe, has been often tried, and without ſucceſs. The wools are found to degenerate in a year or two, and dwindle into the ſame tenuity of texture with thoſe of the countries,

* Ib. Page 18.

countries, into which they are tranſplanted*. But, at all events, the quantity of this wool, whether grown in Languedoc, or in any other parts of France, muſt be very inconſiderable, and totally inadequate to the demand. Elſe, whence the unceaſing ſolicitude of the French manufacturers, to procure the long wool, of this country? Who was ever known, to ſeek any commodity from abroad, of which he could have a ſufficient ſuppply at home? The men of trade know their own intereſt better. They never fail to buy at the cheapeſt, any more than to ſell at the deareſt, market. Now the certain fact is, that foreign manufacturers come to England for wool: whence the as certain concluſion, that they want our wool, and that they cannot procure a ſubſtitute for it elſewhere.

But, tho' theſe conſequences of a general and free exportation of wool be admitted, it may yet be ſaid, that no ſuch effects will fol-

* Similar experimenrs, as I am informed, have been tried in this country; and with the ſame ſucceſs. Lincolnſhire ſheep have been brought into Eſſex. But the wool, in the courſe of a year or two, has become purely Eſſex wool.

low, from a merely temporary exportation, and when at a low price. I am however inclined to think, that the conſequences would in fact be ſtill worſe. The unknown extent of evil, in the former inſtance, would be apt to alarm the moſt intereſted. And their very ſelfiſhneſs would deter them, from riſquing a meaſure, ſo ruinous, at the firſt glance, to their country, and, in the end, to themſelves. But the conſequences of a limited exportation are more eaſily aſcertained, and will be riſqued without ſcruple, by thoſe, to whom it will be an immediate advantage. Let us then conſider for a moment, what will be the probable operation of this meaſure, under any mode of arrangement, that can be ſuppoſed to anſwer its object. The price of wool will be immediately raiſed to the exportation ſtandard. At this point it will reſt, till one of theſe two things happen: 'till the Britiſh warehouſes be exhauſted, or thoſe of foreigners filled. When the ſtock in hand ſhall be diſpoſed of, or, at leaſt, ſuch a proportion of it, as the poſſeſſors ſhall think proper, the price will be inſtantly advanced. The commodity will then be dealt out at diſcretion: till a ſecond ſtock be acquired

quired, to flow out again at every port. And ſhould a little management be now and then neceſſary, to keep things in this regular ſucceſſion, this ingredient too will be abundantly ſupplied. The wool-growers, or rather the wool-jobbers, are a body, ſufficiently compact and united, for this purpoſe. Without the formality of contracts, or actual combinations, this policy would ſpeak its advantages, to this ſet of men, in ſo loud and ſo clear a language, as to be heard and underſtood in every corner of the land. And what, mean while, will be the ſituation our manufacturers? The advanced price of the raw material, if not during the exportation, yet moſt certainly in the intervals of its ſuſpenſion, will amount to little leſs than the annihilation of the manufacture. The manufacturer abroad will, at the ſame time, be ſupplied, to the utmoſt of his wiſhes. He will find, that wool is not *a periſhable commodity*. The Engliſh ports will not have been open to him in vain. Being in poſſeſſion of every thing he wants, he will ſee them cloſed again, with perfect tranquillity. Every hand, and every head, will be inſtantly at work. Every market will ſoon be crowded with

with his goods. No longer any enquiry after the *Britiſh Staple*. The value, at leaſt, of Britiſh goods muſt ſink under ſuch a weight of competition. And with theſe accumulated circumſtances of diſadvantage, the high price of material on the one hand, the diminiſhed value of the manufacture on the other, what muſt be the fate of the latter, but gradual decay at leaſt, if not violent death.

I come now to conſider Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE's reaſons, for the allowing of the exportation of wool, in the way of objections to the arguments, above ſtated. The examination of theſe reaſons, or objections, which I ſhall give in the author's own words, will open the whole queſtion to our view, and lead us to a clear and deciſive judgment.

OBJECTION I. "The redundancy of wool is at preſent ſo great in Britain, that it is ſunk in many places 50 per cent: and in very few places leſs than 30. If not allowed to be exported, that ſuperfluity muſt either periſh, or, being preſſed into a glutted market, muſt ſink ſtill lower the price even of that portion which can be manufactured."*

ANSWER I.

* Ib. Page 5.

ANSWER I. This is not the fact, with reſpect to all kinds of wool. Of the finer ſorts there is no redundancy; and they bear a very high price. We hear no complaints therefore, from this quarter. There is indeed no cauſe of complaint. Would Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE wiſh an exportation of theſe wools? I confeſs myſelf unable to collect his opinion from his various ſtatements. At one time he tell us, that the fineſt wools will be moſt advantageouſly exported; and upon this ground wiſhes ardently the improvement of Britiſh wools.‡ But how is this idea conſiſtent with the very ground-work of his plan, nay, with his own ſtate of the queſtion in conſideration, viz. §"Whether wool ſhould be allowed to be exported, when the price is low." Can he ſuppoſe, that the price of the ſhort and finer wools will ever be ſo reduced, as to admit exportation, at the ſame ſtandard, with thoſe of the long and coarſer ſort? Or, is the exportation-price to vary, according to the different quality of wools? The truth, I believe is, that this exportation-ſyſtem is not perfectly formed, in the

‡ Ib. Page 6, 7. 8, and 15.

§ Ib. Page 1.

the learned author's own mind. To his readers it is certainly not quite comprehenſible. With reſpect to the long wools of Lincolnſhire, and ſome other counties, the fact is not denied. The ſtock in hand is undoubtedly large, and the price unuſually low. This is confeſſedly a real evil to the grower. But it is not an evil of ſuch oppreſſive magnitude, as is repreſented. It is not a greater evil, than every other intereſt, the manufacturing particularly, at preſent ſuffers. It is, we hope too, only a temporary evil. But at all events, and in any view, it is not an evil, that will juſtifie ſo dangerous, ſo fatal a remedy, as that propoſed.

ANSWER II. Wool is not a periſhable commodity. It may be preſerved, as I am informed, in very good condition, to the end of ſeven years. The loſs upon ſo much dead ſtock is doubtleſs conſiderable; yet far ſhort of the abſolute loſs of the commodity.

ANSWER III. The preſent low price is in ſome meaſure balanced, by the increaſed produce. The price of every commodity is governed by two circumſtances: the relative quantity

tity brought to market, and the greater or leſs demand. That the produce of wool is very conſiderably increaſed in Lincolnſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Northamptonſhire, and perhaps in every other county, where incloſures have taken place, is a fact, I believe, that will not be conteſted. It muſt indeed be ſo, from the very nature of the caſe: the growth of wool being, *cæteris paribus*, in exact proportion, to the richneſs of the paſture, upon which the ſheep is fed. In Northamptonſhire, (I have been told this by Gentlemen reſiding upon the ſpot) the weight of a fleece, grown in the incloſed parts, (and by much the greater part of that county is now incloſed) exceeds that of a fleece, grown in the open fields, at leaſt in the proproportion of three to two. In Leiceſterſhire, the ſame cauſe has produced the ſame effect. In Lincolnſhire, the increaſe of wool is certainly not leſs: partly from the ſame cauſe, the incloſure of the *Wolds*, and partly from the ſize of the ſheep, in the paſtures of that county. There is a proverb, reſpecting the wools of Lincolnſhire, which was formerly in the mouth of every conſumer; "Wold bred, and marſh fed." The hair of the fleece was of a fine

 texture,

texture, from the light paſture, in which the ſheep was bred,* and its ſtaple was, at the ſame

* Virgil was well acquainted with the art of raiſing fine wool.

Si tibi lanicium curæ, primum aſpera ſilva,
Lappæque tribulique abſint; fuge pabula læta;
Continuoque greges villis lege mollibus albos.

Georgic: Lib. 3.

This paſſage of Virgil is very deſcriptive of the fine downs and heaths of this country; the only proper paſture, for the cultivation of wools, of a ſoft and delicate texture. Of the growth of theſe wools, I am inclined to think, there is a conſiderable decreaſe: owing to the ſame cauſe, with that of the increaſed quantity of the ſtronger and coarſer ſort: to the vaſt increaſe of the *pabula læta*, of our rich herbage, in conſequence of incloſures. The preſent call for fine, as well as coarſe, cloths, is certainly leſs, than it has been: and yet, the price of the wool, uſed in the making of the former, is unuſually high. Whence can this proceed, but from the leſſer quantity, brought to market? Taking, doubtleſs, into the account the decreaſed import of Spaniſh wool.

Here then is an ample field, for the attention and management of the wool-grower; and alſo abundant encouragement to him. Let him improve the *quality* of his wool, to the very utmoſt point. Let him, if he can, even rival that of Spain. He will be ſure, upon the ſpot, of a market, and a price.

But how would the allowance of exportation operate, in this way? It would tend to the ſtill greater increaſe of thoſe wools, the preſent abundance of which is deemed a grievance; and, by neceſſary conſequence, leſſen the growth of thoſe, which we really want. The manufacturer therefore of fine wool, who ſeems, at preſent, rather reluctant to come forward, muſt, upon a moment's conſideration, clearly ſee his own intereſt to be very deeply involved in this queſtion.

ſame time, of a great length, from the rich nouriſhment of the lands, to which it was afterwards removed. We now hear no more of this proverb. The wool of the *Wolds*, ſince the almoſt univerſal incloſure of them, is no longer of its uſual fineneſs. The marſh-holders no longer find their account, in drawing their ſheep from thence. They therefore in general breed their own ſheep. The conſequence is, that theſe animals are of an aſtoniſhing magnitude. A large Lincolnſhire ram is quite a curioſity. He is a mere maſs of Wool: and is ready to ſink under the burden of his own covering. The preſent average weight of a Lincolnſhire fleece may be eſtimated at 12, its former average, at 8 pounds. From this vaſt increaſe the market is neceſſarily glutted, and the price fallen. But if the diminution of price be only in proportion to the increaſed produce, the ſeller cannot be a conſiderable ſufferer. And were there a demand, for the whole quantity raiſed, at this proportionate rate of price, he could hardly be ſaid to ſuffer at all. But this, we allow, is not the caſe, at preſent. with reſpect to wool. It is not pretended, that the holder can, even at the pre-

ſent low price, diſpoſe of his whole ſtock, or, that his increaſed growth brings with it a full and adequate compenſation, for this loſs of value. But we inſiſt, that——

ANSWER. IV. This evil is occaſional only, and, we hope, temporary; while every other intereſt too, in this country, ſuffers, in a greater or leſs degree, from the ſame cauſe. This cauſe is the war. Our export of woollens is decreaſed; the demand for them is leſsened; the demand for the wool, conſumed in them, is conſequently diminiſhed. The ſame has happen in all former wars. Not perhaps to the ſame degree; becauſe we have never been engaged in a war of equal extent, and in which foreign ports have been ſo univerſally, and ſo effectually, barred againſt us. Evils of this kind therefore, tho' much to be lamented, muſt be ſubmitted to. And ſurely the particular diſtreſs, of which we now hear ſuch loud complaints, is not amongſt the heavieſt, with which this country ſtruggles. If the loſs of the wool-grower be great, how much greater muſt be that of the manufacturer? He muſt, if he go on at all, make up his goods, not for the

market,

market, but for his warehouſes: at the hazard, not of a partial, but, I may ſay, of a total loſs of his commodity. For it is well known, that the manufactured goods are of a much more periſhable nature, than the unwrought material. With reſpect to the price alſo of thoſe few goods, of which he is able to ſteal an export, after deduction of the immenſe charges of freightage, and inſurance, he is in no better ſituation than the grower. What too is the condition of the great body of the poor, employed in the ſeveral branches of this manufacture? Deplorable beyond expreſſion. Some quite deſtitute of employment, others half-employed, and almoſt all obliged to fly, (where elſe can they fly?) to the landed intereſt, for at leaſt ap artial ſupport. But the army, it is ſaid, and the navy are open. To the young and the healthy there is this refuge. So much the worſe ſurely for the families left at home. So much the worſe for thoſe, who are bound to ſupport ſuch families. Nor is this diſtreſs confined to thoſe towns, which are the ſeat of theſe manufactures; tho' here, doubtleſs, it is moſt ſenſibly felt. The villages. within a large circle, are

not

not without their ſhare of this calamity. It is a fact, (I ſpeak it from knowledge) that many pariſhes, at this inſtant, pay the carriage of wool, to and from the ſpinning-houſes, at the diſtance of twenty, thirty, and even forty, miles, for the ſake of obtaining ſome employment for their poor. And are the diſtreſſes of a ſmall number of men, in a ſingle county, (for the greater part of the Lincolnſhire wool-growers are, as I am informed, in circumſtances of affluence) to be mentioned, amidſt ſuch univerſal and multiplied miſery? And are they to be relieved, by a remedy, that would fill up the meaſure of national diſtreſs, would cut off one of our beſt reſources, and give a fatal blow to the moſt valuable intereſts of this country?

OBJECTION II. *"The allowance of the exportation of wool will be an encouragement to the improvement of it."†

ANSWER. To the improvement of it, for what purpoſe? For the purpoſe of exportation. To retrieve

* Ib. Page 6, 7, 8.

† I found it impoſſible to give this objection in the author's own words; becauſe he does not, as in the other inſtances, ſtate this reaſon in form; but leaves it to be collected from his repreſentations, throughout the whole ſection.

retrieve its *ancient* credit—" its *antient* eſtimation, at all the markets of Europe "*—to make it, as *formerly*, "the chief object of price"§—to enable, as in *antient* times, tenants to pay their rents, and the King to draw his revenue, from the exportation of wool—from the exportation of a commodity, raiſed without labour, and incapable, from the very nature of the thing, of producing any conſiderable return. For it is a fact, that, if the whole annual growth of long wool were exported, it would not give a return, equal to one third of that, from the Norwich exports only. I own, when I read the ſection now before me, I can ſcarce believe my own eyes. I can with difficulty perſuade myſelf, that the author is in earneſt. For is it poſſible, that a man, of Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE's information and diſcernment, ſhould loſe ſight of the diſtinction, between the ſituation of this country two hundred years ago, and its preſent ſituation? Is it poſſible, that he can ſeriouſly wiſh to bring us back to the old ſyſtem, of exporting raw produce, and importing the finiſhed manufacture? And are we to be now ſent, for information in commercial policy, to the wiſe

* Ib. Page 8. § Ib. Page 6.

wiſe ſayings of wiſe ſtateſmen, who lived in an age, when the true principles of commerce were juſt as well underſtood, as they are at preſent, in the iſland of Otaheite, or among the tribes of the Chickſaws. Were lord Burleigh now living, would he wiſh to ſee the price of wool raiſed by exportation? The ſuppoſition is an inſult to his memory. What proportion did the value of lands bear, in his time, to their preſent value? The very ſame, that the then extent of commerce and manufactures bears to its preſent extent. Commerce is now the very life-blood of the Britiſh empire; and alone diſtributes nouriſhment and vigour, through every part and branch of the ſyſtem. But commerce is, in its turn, fed and ſupported by manufactures; and by manufactures only. Without exports, there can be no imports. And how trivial the return, from the export of unwrought materials only. Our own country affords the cleareſt example of this fixed and unalterable courſe of things. Our land improvements have kept conſtant pace with our trade; that again with our manufactures. They will all decay and drop together. Let the price of wool be advanced, in conſequence

of

of a flouriſhing manufacture—This is natural, and as it ſhould be; and affords unqueſtioned proof, that the ſyſtem is in vigour. It proves that the price of the manufacture is a full ballance to that of the material. Improve your wools, to the very utmoſt point—for yourſelves—for your own conſumption, and uſe. But improve them not, for others—for your rivals—for thoſe, who will ſend them to you again, at a ten-fold price. Either foreigners do want your wools, or they do not. If they do not, the very idea of exportation is folly; if they do, it is inſanity. In the one caſe, the project would be impracticable; in the other, ruinous.

But "all Europe is in a ſtate of improvement."* So much the better for them—and for us: if we do not ſuffer them to outſtrip us, and if we direct our attention to the proper objects of improvement. So much the better for us:--unleſs by forcing nature, and miſapplying induſtry, we "bring things to their ancient ſtate again."† "If nature has poured

* Ib. Page 18.
† Ib. Page 8.

out her gifts on moſt of the ſouthern and middle European countries with an almoſt equal hand,"§ this equality of natural advantages ariſes, not from their uniformity, their ſameneſs, but their variety. From a variety, which enables them to contribute largely to each other's intereſt and happineſs; which alone can enable them to do this; and which is therefore the the true and only firm foundation of commercial intercourſe. Individuals have each their *ſtaple* of genius and talents: Nations that of growth and produce. Eminence in either caſe is not to be attained, in oppoſition to nature. To cultivate the vine and the olive, would be a vain attempt, *vervecum in patria craſſoque ſub aere.* Equally idle would be the project, of clothing the flocks, which wander over the half-barren hills, and under the ſunny atmoſphere, of the ſouthern latitudes, with the fleeces of Lincolnſhire. If nature hath ſaid to Britain, "Thou ſhalt ſtand unrivalled, among the nations around thee, in thy woollen manufactures,"* let us not defeat her kind intentions, "by artificial obſtructions."§

Can

§ Ib. Page 18.
* Ib. Page 18 § Ib. Page 8.

Can it be a queſtion, whether it be more *natural* (another word this, in the preſent inſtance, for *uſeful*) for a country, to work up the materials of its own growth, or to ſend them to other countries, for this purpoſe.

OBJECTION III. "The prohibition to export wool defeats its own object. As it confines the wool-grower to one market, it ſinks the price; ſinking the price it cauſes a demand from foreign countries; cauſing a demand from foreign countries, it tempts the ſmuggler to export."*

ANSWER. We find at length then, that there *is* a demand for our wool, from foreign countries—when it is cheap at leaſt. Now this is the very point of time, at which we ſhould be moſt ſolicitous, to keep it from them. Becauſe, by a ſupply in theſe circumſtances, we ſhall give them ſtill greater advantages of competition, and enable them more deciſively to underſell us. It is not unpleaſant to obſerve, how the different, and even inconſiſtent, repreſentations of our author, lead directly to the very reverſe of that concluſion, which he labours to eſtabliſh upon them. At one time,

* Ib. Page 9.

"It is not true, that the manufactures of other countries depend, in a very extenſive degree, upon the wool of Britain.——That they are the *better* for it, and eſpecially when they get it, as they do now, at a lower price than their own is certain; but that they cannot do without it, is a miſtake.* At another time it is inſiſted, "that if ſuch mixture was abſolutely neceſſary for foreigners, it will be ſupplied by ſmugglers and that, if exportation be always an evil, it is without remedy."‡ But, upon the former repreſentation, what is the fair and juſt concluſion? If foreigners want not our wool at all, the very attempt, as has been juſt obſerved, to export it, would be ridiculous. If it be of *ſome* ſervice to them, and their manufactures are *bettered* by it, exactly in the ſame proportion will the exportation of it be pernicious to our manufactures. "If they will only buy, when the price is low,"†—this is the very time, when we ſhould uſe all poſſible means, to prevent their buying. If, on the other hand, they are really in want of our wool, "and are alſo equally ſupplied with

* Ib. Page 17.
‡ Ib. Page 16.
† Ib. Page 17.

with it by ſmuggling as by the fair trader,"‡ where, in the name of common ſenſe, is the ground of complaint? If foreigners always have been, and now are, ſupplied, to the utmoſt of their wiſhes, through the ſmuggling channel, of what poſſible benefit to the wool-grower will be the freeſt exportation of wool? He has his full market at preſent; no matter to him, in what manner procured. But if the true ſtate of the fact be, as it moſt certainly is, that, tho' foreigners do at preſent, by indirect means, obtain by far too large a quantity of the wool of this country, yet are they not able, in this way, to procure a ſupply adequate to their wants, what ought to be the concluſion, on our part? Not ſurely, that we offer them a full and voluntary ſupply, but that we endeavour to increaſe the difficulty of their getting any ſupply at all: that we block up, if poſſible, every avenue of ſuch ſupply: that, in a word, we enforce the execution of the preſent laws againſt exportation, or, if neceſſary, paſs more effectual laws.

OBJECTION IV. "The exportation of wool, when the price is low, will not only be profitable

‡ Ib. Page 16.

profitable to the land-holder, but will produce a large revenue, to the profit of the ſtate."*

ANSWER.---A bait this, which no miniſter can be ſuppoſed to reſiſt, and which will be caught at, with the eagerneſs of hunger, by an exhauſted public.—But if there be any truth in the foregoing obſervations, this temptation will, I am confident, be rejected with diſdain. Is it poſſible, that a miniſter will break up at once a ſyſtem of commercial policy, built upon the ſoundeſt principles of public utility, confirmed by the experience of more than a century, and ſanctified, as it were, by repeated acts of the Legiſlature, for the ſake of a paltry pittance of revenue? Of a revenue, in any circumſtances, ſcarce worth attending to, but, in the preſent ſtate of our finances, a mere drop to the ocean. With reſpect to the preſent miniſter, even a doubt upon this point would be calumny. Arduous and painful as his taſk is, (and no man can wiſh more ardently than I do, for its alleviation) a little momentary eaſe muſt not be ſo dearly purchaſed: muſt not be purchaſed, at the hazard, at the certainty, of increaſing future difficulties a hundred-fold

* Ib. Page 10.

dred-fold, and involving both the miniſter and the public in ſtill deeper embarraſsment and diſtreſs.

If there be any ſalvation for this country, it muſt be, by the preſervation of its *reſources*. That is, by keeping the people in *permanent* ability, to ſupport the burthens laid upon them. Every tax will indeed, in ſome degree, affect either lands, or trade, or, as is generally the caſe, both. But there is a wide difference, between laying an additional burthen upon men's ſhoulders, and diſabling them from bearing any burthen at all. A tree may be wounded in its branches, without hazard of its life, or vigour, but a blow at the root will be mortal, and at once deciſive of its fate. The meaſure propoſed has this direct aim. It ſtrikes at the original ſources of all national ability, and, conſequently, of all revenue—at induſtry—at population—at that conſumption, therefore, as well of foreign, as of home, produce, whence a revenue can alone ariſe.

With theſe impreſſions, I trouble not myſelf to conſider, what would be the probable a-

mount

mount of this duty. Under the propoſed mode of regulation. as it would be liable to perpetual interruption, it could be made to contribute, upon fair eſtimate, very inconſiderably, towards a new fund, for a new loan. But indeed were this exportation-ſcheme to be adopted, I confeſs, I ſhould rather wiſh to ſee it take place, without any limitation at all, whether of price, or of duty. The evil would in this caſe meet us at once, with its full force, and would itſelf, as it were, compel us to immediate reſiſtance. Whereas under checks and regulations, of whatever kind, the danger would ſhew itſelf more gradually; its approaches, tho' not leſs ſure, would be leſs rapid; and, I need not add, that, in the caſe of a duty, the miſchief would not be quite ſo eaſily removed.

OBJECTION V. "Every argument for the exportation of corn when price is low applies equally to the exportation of wool when price is low."*

ANSWER. This is indeed ſurprizing. For ſurely no two caſes were ever more diſſimilar, in every circumſtance. Corn is, to all purpoſes

* Ib. Page 10.

poſes of exportation, a manufacture, a finiſhed manufacture*—Wool, a raw produce. To the raiſing of corn, much labour is required—To the growing of wool, ſcarce any. The return for corn, conſequently, affords to thouſands the means of ſubſiſtence, over and above the rent to the land-owner, and the profit to the farmer—The return for wool amounts to little more, than ſuch rent, and ſuch profit. By exportation of corn, we provide food for other countries, at *their* coſt—By exportation of wool, foreign nations are enabled to provide clothes for themſelves and others, at *our* coſt. By the exportation of corn, we enſure domeſtic induſtry, of the moſt uſeful kind—By the exportation of wool, we deſtroy the very means of induſtry. Laſtly, by the exportation of corn, we increaſe its growth for the home conſumption, and, at the ſame time, (taking into account the regulations of the import-trade) diminiſh its home price, upon the whole—By the exportation of wool, we increaſe its growth, for foreign conſumption, with a certainty, nay, with a view, of raiſing its price, at home. So pointed is the oppoſi-

* The taylor in the one caſe may fairly be ſet againſt the miller and the baker in the other.

tion, between theſe two caſes, one of which is here held out to us, as a rule for the other.

The parallel, indeed, between the exportation of corn, and that of a finiſhed manufacture, is ſufficiently exact. And the ſame arguments may be applied, with nearly equal force, to both caſes. The very ſame encouragements too might in ſimilar circumſtances be as uſefully employed, in the one inſtance, as in the other. A ſum of public money could not be better expended, than in giving a bounty upon exported woollens, ſhould foreigners, by any untoward events on our part, be enabled to underſell us.

Beſides theſe five reaſons, which are brought forward in form, and which I have conſidered in the way of objections to the preſent ſyſtem of the wool-trade, there is a farther argument, addreſſed to the manufacturers themſelves, which muſt not paſs off, without ſome examination.

" The manufacturing intereſt will not only not be hurt, but will be greatly benefited by the propoſal. It will not be hurt, becauſe the moment the price riſes beyond a juſt medium, the

the exportation will be ſtopped."* "It will be greatly benefited, becauſe wool, by this double market, will be kept conſtantly at an equal rate in its price, inſtead of ſtarting ſometimes too high, and falling ſometimes too low, as it does now; variations, which diſturb the manufacturer in his projects and exertions."†

What this medium price is to be, is not however yet fixed. But ſuppoſing this point ſettled: is it ſo very clear a matter, that, when exportation is ſtopped, the price will alſo ſtop with it? Is it not rather to be expected, is it not indeed certain, that the price will be inſtantly advanced, and that, to whatever pitch the holder of wool ſhall think proper? Will not the proſpect of this double market be an irreſiſtible temptation to the accumulation of wool in his hands? And will not the manufacturer be always at his mercy? Unleſs indeed the grower ſubmit to a clauſe in this his new law, to prohibit the advance of price, beyond the medium rate. An idea, I believe, that has never entered his imagination. But the fact is, that this variation of the price of wool, uſed in exported

 manufactures,

* Ib. Page 14. † Ib. Page 15.

manufactures, is of the greateſt benefit, both to the manufacturer, and to the public. The low price, when the demand is checked, will enable him, and will alone enable him, to keep many of his looms at work, which muſt otherwiſe have been at reſt and to employ many hands, which muſt otherwiſe have been idle. An advance of price, on the other hand, when the ſales are briſk, will hardly be felt.

But the manufacturer, it is urged, will be benefited, ſtill in another way. The domeſtic conſumption of his goods will be increaſed. "Aſk the clothier if he ſells as much at home, and gets as ready payment, as he uſed to do."* But ſurely this is the very firſt inſtance, in which an attempt has been made, to cure a diſeaſe, by increaſing its cauſe. To what is owing the preſent diminution of the home conſumption? It is ultimately owing to the diminiſhed demand for our manufactures, of whatever kind, from abroad: to the loſs of trade, in conſequence of ſuch diminution: to the loſs of induſtry, in conſequence of both. Hence the general inability to purchaſe, as well the produce of the farmer, as the goods of the tradeſman:

* Ib. Page 14.

man: and all the diſtreſſing conſequences of ſuch inability, both to the landed intereſt, and the mercantile. For it is abſurdity to ſuppoſe, that either of theſe intereſts can flouriſh at the expence of the other. It is infatuation, it is blindneſs itſelf, not to ſee, that the diſtinct diſtreſſes of each muſt create additional diſtreſs to the other. And are theſe calamities to be removed or leſſened, by giving a ſtill more extenſive operation to the cauſes of them? By giving a farther check to thoſe manufactures, the decay of which has produced, and continues to produce, the very conſequences complained of? A few wool-growers in Lincolnſhire, and their landlords, will doubtleſs, be enabled by this meaſure, to live in greater affluence, and become better cuſtomers to their tradeſmen. But what are they, to the community at large? Hundreds of thouſands will be, at the ſame time, rendered incapable not only of purchaſing covering, but ſuſtenance.

I now haſten to a concluſion: tho' I pretend not to have exhauſted the ſubject. Many conſiderations, which occurred to me in the courſe of this enquiry, I have been obliged to ſuppreſs.

ſuppreſs. Many more muſt doubtleſs have occurred to others.

I have directed my appeal chiefly to the landed intereſt: becauſe I conſider that intereſt, as the great central object of every political arrangement. I eſtimate the value of every other intereſt, by its relation to the landed. But this intereſt cannot ſupport itſelf. It can alone be raiſed, and ſtand, upon the broad and ſolid baſis, of induſtry, and manufactures. This is a truth founded in the very nature of things; confirmed by the unvaried experience of this country, and of almoſt every other nation under Heaven.

"The fleece, the ſail, and the plough." Such is the fixed and unalterable order of nature. "Manufactures, commerce, agriculture." Theſe are the three grand ſources of Britiſh wealth, and proſperity. They impart to each other mutual ſtrength, and ſupport. Neither of them can exiſt, independently of the reſt.

"Nature hath joined them together, man will in vain attempt to put them aſunder."

FINIS.

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